

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 OMB-01 SAJ-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /069 W
-----311132Z 121475 /20

R 311015Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5157
INFO USLO PEKING
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA
CINCPAC HONOLULU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 1440

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: JS, CH, PFOR, PINT
SUBJECT: AFTERMATH OF TAKEIRI MISSION TO CHINA

REFS: TOKYO 1010 ; TOKYO 1072; PEKING 179

SUMMARY: TAKEIRI VISIT TO CHINA OCCASIONED UNUSUALLY
SHARP AND PUBLIC DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN FONOFF AND CHIEF CABI-
NET SECRETARY SONODA OVER DEGREE TO WHICH GOJ SHOULD
COMPROMISE TO GAIN EARLY PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY
(PFT) WITH CHINA. ALTHOUGH FONOFF HELD THAT PRESENT
CIRCUMSTANCES WERE INAUSPICIOUS FOR SUCH COMPROMISE WITH
CHINESE, LDP POLITICAL ELDERS, PERCEIVING NEED TO ENHANCE
LDP'S CHANCES IN IMPENDING UPPER HOUSE ELECTION, APPARENTLY TRIED
TO MOVE FUKUDA GOVERNMENT FORWARD ON POLITICALLY POPULAR PFT. SUB-
SEQUENT GOJ INTRAMURAL DISPUTE UNDERCUT TAKEIRI MISSION
TO BENEFIT OF NO ONE. END SUMMARY.

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1. SHARP DISAGREEMENT WITHIN GOJ RANKS HAS FOLLOWED
KOMEITO CHAIRMAN TAKEIRI'S MEETING WITH HUA KUO-FENG.
TAKEIRI WENT TO PEKING WITH MESSAGE FROM PM FUKUDA
EXPRESSING LATTER'S HOPE THAT BOTH COUNTRIES COULD MOVE
FORWARD TOWARDS CONCLUSION OF PFT (REFTELS). DISPUTE BY,
FONOFF--APPARENTLY IN VNGMW DIS-

PICT WEEK IN UNUSUAL FLURRY OF CONTRADICTORY
AND INTENTIONALLY VAGUE PRESS STATEMENTS FROM BOTH
CAMPS. DISAGREEMENT CENTERED OVER:

- WHETHER FUKUDA GOVERNMENT WAS DROPPING MIYAZAWA'S
FOUR POINTS AS JAPANESE PUBLIC RATIONALE FOR ANY INCLUSION
OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT;
- WHETHER FONOFF HAD BEEN PROPERLY CONSULTED ON DISPATCH
OF FUKUDA'S MESSAGE TO CHINESE;
- WHETHER MESSAGE ITSELF REPRESENTED "OFFICIAL POLICY"
OR DIPLOMATIC COURTESY";
- WHETHER TAKEIRI MISINTERPRETED FUKUDA'S INTENTIONS
AND HAD MISLED CHINESE;
- AND FINALLY, WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN ANY DISAGREE-
MENT AT ALL BETWEEN FONOFF AND SONODA.

2. IN MEANTIME, TAKEIRI, REPORTEDLY "FURIOUS" WITH
FONOFF FOR ITS COMMENTS MINIMIZING IMPORTANCE OF HIS
MISSION, CRITICIZED "INCOHERENCY" OF GOJ'S CHINA POLICY
AND AGAIN CALLED FOR RAPID CONCLUSION OF PFT.

3. THIS INTRAMURAL DUST-UP HAS TENDED TO OBSCURE
DIPLOMATIC ASPECTS OF TAKEIRI EPISODE. TAKEIRI'S
VISIT RESULTED IN NO REAL MOVEMENT TOWARDS EARLY
CONCLUSION OF PFT. NOR ACCORDING TO CONVENTIONAL WISDOM
IN TOKYO, IS THERE PROSPECT FOR ANY SUCH MOVEMENT
IN THE NEAR FUTURE. HUA KUO-FENG'S REITERATION TO
TAKEIRI OF CHINESE INSISTENCE ON INCLUSION OF ANTI-
HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT WAS READ BY FONOFF CHINA WATCHERS
AND SOME JAPANESE JOURNALISTS AS CONFIRMATION THAT PRC
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LEADERSHIP WAS NOT YET READY TO DISCUSS PFT SERIOUSLY
WITH JAPANESE (ONE JOURNALIST NOTED THAT WHILE HUA'S
CONVERSATION WITH FORMER FONMIN FUJIYAMA LAST SUMMER
HAD AT LEAST CONTAINED SOME SUBSTANTIVE GIVE-AND-TAKE
ON DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF ANTI-HEGEMONY, HUA'S
COMMENTS TO TAKEIRI HAD APPEARANCE OF RIGID SET SPEECH).
ALTHOUGH CHINESE WERE EVIDENTLY WILLING TO INCREASE
PRESSURE ON FUKUDA BY INVOKING HUA KUO-FENG AS
AUTHORITATIVE SOURCE OF CHINESE POSITION, SINO-JAPANESE
RELATIONS STILL DID NOT APPEAR TO BE CRITICAL ITEM FOR
PEKING AT THIS TIME.

4. FROM STRICTLY FOREIGN POLICY POINT OF VIEW (I.E.,
FONOFF'S PERSPECTIVE), INCENTIVES FOR JAPANESE COMPROMISE
AND ATTEMPT TO SPEED MOVEMENT ON PFT ARE OUTWEIGHED
BY DISADVANTAGES:

- LEADERSHIP SITUATION IN PEKING APPEARS INCREASINGLY
UNSETTLED;
- JAPAN IS ABOUT TO ENTER DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS WITH

SOVIETS ON IMPORTANT FISHERIES ISSUES;

--AND, FINALLY, GOJ HAS NOT YET HAD OPPORTUNITY TO
DISCUSS POSSIBLE EVOLUTION IN ITS CHINA POLICY WITH NEW
LEADERSHIP IN WASHINGTON.

5. TAKEIRI EPISODE ALSO WAS FURTHER INDICATION THAT
DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS--ALWAYS IMPORTANT IN
FORMULATION AND EXECUTION OF JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY--
HAVE ASSUMED ADDITIONAL WEIGHT AS RESULT OF WEAKENED
LDP DIET MAJORITIES. SENIOR LDP ADVISORS SUCH AS CHIEF
CABINET SECRETARY SONODA SEEK TO HANDLE FOREIGN POLICY
ISSUES BOTH TO PREVENT DISRUPTION OF GOVERNMENT'S RAZOR-
THIN CONTROL IN DIET, AND TO ENHANCE IF AT ALL POSSIBLE LDP'S
CHANCES IN THIS SUMMER'S UPPER HOUSE ELECTION. FROM
PERSPECTIVE OF POLITICAL TACTICIANS,
CONCLUSION OF PFT WITH CHINA WOULD REPRESENT RELATIVELY
POPULAR AND "SAFE" ACTION FOR FUKUDA CABINET. DECISION
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BY FUKUDA TO CONCLUDE PFT RAPIDLY WOULD LIKELY RECEIVE
GENERAL PUBLIC APPROVAL AND SUPPORT FROM OPPOSITION PARTIES. THOSE
WITHIN LDP WHO MIGHT OBJECT WOULD, IN CONTRAST WITH THEIR
EARLIER POSITION WHEN MIKI WAS PM, HAVE LESS ROOM FOR
POLITICAL MANEUVERING UNDER CONSERVATIVE FUKUDA PRIME
MINISTERSHIP.

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SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /069 W

-----311541Z 122265 /43

R 311015Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5158

INFO USLO PEKING

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

6. IT WAS WITHIN THIS POLITICAL CONTEXT THAT KOMEITO CHAIRMAN TAKEIRI, PROVEN "OLD FRIEND" OF CHINA, WAS GIVEN PRIME MINISTERIAL MESSAGE OF GOODWILL TO CARRY TO PEKING. (IN ADDITION TO BEING ACCEPTABLE WITH PEKING, TAKEIRI ALSO HEADS UP OPPOSITION PARTY WHOSE AD HOC COOPERATION IN DIET HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT FOR GOVERNMENT.) SONODA'S COMMENTS AT TAKEIRI'S PRE-DEPARTURE MEETING WITH FUKUDA DYGESTKCGDLPQAMIYAZAWA'S FOUR POINTS HAD BEEN DROPPED AS POLICY MIGHT WELL HAVE BEEN TRIAL BALLOON LAUNCHED WITH PM'S TACIT CONSENT.

7. ALTHOUGH LONG ACCUSTOMED TO CONDUCTING DIPLOMACY UNDER WIDE RANGE OF CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED BY DOMESTIC POLITICAL REALITIES, FONOFF SENIOR OFFICIALS IN THIS CASE REACTED WITH SURPRISING SHARPNESS TO WHAT THEY FEARED HAD BEEN UNNECESSARY WASTING OF DIPLOMATIC BARGAINING ADVANTAGE FOR SHORT-TERM POLITICAL GAIN. FONOFF REACTION
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AND SUBSEQUENT PUBLIC CONFUSION WITHIN GOJ RANKS EFFECTIVELY UNDERCUT WHATEVER POLITICAL UTILITY TO LDP TAKEIRI VISIT TO PEKING MIGHT HAVE HAD.

8. ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THIS CONTRETEMPS MIGHT BE SAID TO HAVE BEEN LOSERS:
--FONOFF'S AND HATOYAMA'S SUPPOSED PRIMACY IN FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY WAS PUBLICLY USURPED BY PARTY POLITICIANS;
--SONODA, CHIEF SPOKESMAN OF FUKUDA GOVERNMENT, WAS PUBLICLY CHARGED WITH MIS-STATEMENT OF GOJ POLICY;
--AND TAKEIRI'S VALUED ROLE AS TRUSTED AND EFFECTIVE INTERMEDIARY WITH PEKING WAS CALLED INTO QUESTION.

9. ALTHOUGH IT IS UNKNOWN WHETHER HE INTENDED TO LAUNCH TRIAL BALLOON OR NOT, PM FUKUDA REMAINED ABOVE PUBLIC SQUABBLING OF HIS SUBORDINATES THROUGHOUT, AVOIDING PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT OF EITHER SONODA'S OR FONOFF'S POSITION. AT JANUARY 26 MEETING WITH TAKEIRI ON LATTER'S RETURN FROM CHINA, PM MERELY NOTED: "I UNDERSTAND THE CHINESE SIDE'S WAY OF THINKING," AND REFRAINED FROM FURTHER COMMENT. SUBSEQUENTLY IN HIS JANUARY 31 DIET ADDRESS, FUKUDA SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD "MAKE FURTHER EFFORTS FOR CONCLUSION OF A TREATY IN A MANNER SATISFACTORY TO

BOTH SIDES." FUKUDA'S ACTIONS MIGHT BE CONSIDERED AS CONSTRUCTIVE AMBIGUITY--MAINTAINING OPEN HIS OPTIONS FOR FUTURE MOVEMENT. (IN THIS RESPECT, FUKUDA'S COMMENTS DIFFERED SHARPLY FROM FORMER PM MIKI'S MORE DEFINITE PRONOUNCEMENTS ON SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS AND PFT.) IT IS MORE LIKELY, HOWEVER, THAT MESSY NATURE OF ENTIRE TAKEIRI EPISODE WILL GIVE IMPRESSION--BOTH TO JAPANESE PUBLIC AND CHINESE LEADERSHIP--OF CONFUSED AND IN-DECISIVE LEADERSHIP.

10. IN COMING WEEKS FUKUDA GOVERNMENT WILL FACE NUMBER OF POLITICALLY SENSITIVE FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES--RATIFI-
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CATION OF LONG-DELAYED KOREAN CONTINENTAL SHELF TREATY, OKINAWA LAND-USE BILL, ALLEGATIONS OF KOREAN BRIBERY AND KCIA MISDEEDS, IMPLICATIONS OF US KOREAN POLICY FOR JAPAN, ETC. WHILE TENSIONS BETWEEN VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF GOJ OVER SPECIFIC POLICY ISSUES ARE NOT UNUSAL PRESENT POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT--PARTICULARLY LDP'S OBSESSION WITH IMPENDING UPPER HOUSE ELECTION--IS LIKELY TO INCREASE FRICTION AND CONFUSION BETWEEN BUREAUCRATIC PROFESSIONALS AND PARTY TACTICIANS AS THESE ISSUES ARE ADDRESSED.
HODGSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
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Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977TOKYO01440
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977011/aaaaaant.tel
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Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 TOKYO 1010, 77 TOKYO 1072, 77 PEKING 179
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3474301
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AFTERMATH OF TAKEIRI MISSION TO CHINA
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, JA, CH, (TAKEIRI, YOSHIKATSU), (HUA KUO-FENG)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/9c98b5cf-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009